

## Message Text

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ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS USDEL SECRETARY IN MOSCOW SECTO 1022

FOR S/PRS; PASS NSC AND WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: TEXT OF TOAST TO BE OFFERED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER, LUNCHEON, JAN 21

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF TOAST (EMBARGO UNTIL DELIVERY) TO BE OFFERED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AT LUNCHEON HOSTED IN HIS HONOR BY FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO TODAY AT 2 P.M.

BEGIN TEXT: MR. FOREIGN MINISTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:  
I HAVE NOT COUNTED IT PRECISELY, BUT THERE MUST NOW HAVE BEEN MORE THAN 15 OCCASIONS, DURING LESS THAN 4 YEARS, WHEN WE HAVE VISITED EACH OTHER IN OUR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES OR MET IN THIRD COUNTRIES TO DISCUSS THE SERIOUS ISSUES OF OUR TIMES. AS IN THE PAST, MY ASSOCIATES AND I APPRECIATE YOUR HOSPITALITY AND THE THOUGHTFUL ARRANGEMENTS YOU HAVE MADE FOR OUR STAY HERE.

OUR MEETINGS, THOUGH NOT WITHOUT THEIR RELAXING MOMENTS, HAVE ALWAYS CONCENTRATED ON THE HARD TASKS WE FACE TOGETHER. THE DISCUSSIONS I AM HAVING ON THIS OCCASION WITH YOUR GENERAL SECRETARY, YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES ARE NO EXCEPTION.

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP, OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE RECOGNIZED THE ENORMOUS AND FATEFUL SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY RESTING UPON US, AS THE MOST POWERFUL NATIONS OF THE WORLD, TO MANAGE OUR AFFAIRS SO THAT A

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SECURE PEACE CAN BE BUILT. THREE YEARS AGO, AT THE SUMMIT

MEETING OF 1972, WE CONCLUDED SIGNIFICANT FIRST AGREEMENTS TO LIMIT DEFENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC WEAPONS; WE ENUNCIATED PRINCIPLES TO GOVERN OUR RELATIONS SO THAT NOT ONLY WE OURSELVES WOULD BENEFIT FROM THEM BUT THAT SECURITY AND PEACE EVERYWHERE WOULD BE STRENGTHENED; WE SIGNED SEVERAL BILATERAL COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS. SINCE THEN, PRESIDENT FORD HAS CARRIED OUR RELATIONSHIP FORWARD, BUILDING ON THOSE FIRST ACCOMPLISHMENTS; OUR FREQUENT CONTACTS AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS ARE A PART OF THAT PROCESS.

TODAY, WE ARE FACED WITH THE CHALLENGE OF GIVING FRESH MOMENTUM TO OUR DIALOGUE, ON ISSUES THAT ARE MUCH MORE COMPLEX. FOR WE HAVE LEARNED ALREADY THAT THE EVOLUTION WE HAVE MAPPED OUT IS NOT AUTOMATIC; IT REQUIRES PERSEVERING EFFORT, IMAGINATION AND COURAGE, AND ABOVE ALL, THAT SCRUPULOUS RESPECT FOR THE INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED TO WHICH WE HAVE SO OFTEN REFERRED IN OUR JOINT DOCUMENTS AND IN OUR MEETINGS.

OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE ON THIS OCCASION ARE FOCUSED ONCE AGAIN ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS. WE MUST GIVE SUBSTANCE AND BINDING FORCE TO THE ACCORDS AGREED UPON BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY IN VLADIVOSTOK 14 MONTHS AGO. ON THE SUCCESS OF THIS EFFORT DEPENDS THE FULFILLMENT OF THE COMMITMENT WE HAVE BOTH MADE BEFORE THE WHOLE WORLD THAT WE WILL ACHIEVE NOT ONLY THE LIMITATION BUT THE ACTUAL REDUCTION OF THE LEVELS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. EACH OF US, MR. FOREIGN MINISTER, MUST, IF WE FAIL, ANSWER TO HIS OWN PEOPLE, TO THE WORLD AT LARGE AND TO HISTORY THE QUESTION: DID THIS OR THAT SPECIFIC, POSSIBLY QUITE TECHNICAL ISSUE, JUSTIFY THE FAILURE OR PROLONGED DELAY OF THE TOTAL EFFORT? DID WE DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO SPARE MANKIND THE BURDENS AND RISKS OF A NUCLEAR ARMS RACE? I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN ASKED MANY TIMES IN THE DELIBERATIONS OF MY GOVERNMENT. AND IN ANSWERING IT TO OURSELVES, HONESTLY AND WITH THE FULL RESPONSIBILITY INHERENT IN OUR POSITIONS, WE HAVE STRENGTHENED OUR RESOLVE TO SEEK AN EQUITABLE AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME. WE BELIEVE WE HAVE A RIGHT TO ASK A SIMILAR APPROACH FROM YOU. OUR TASK IS A COMMON ONE, JUST AS SUCCESS IN ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT WILL BE TO OUR COMMON ADVANTAGE AND FAILURE WILL LEAVE US BOTH

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LOSERS.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION IS PERHAPS THE MOST CONCRETE TASK WE FACE TOGETHER, BUT IT IS FAR FROM THE ONLY ONE. IN RECENT WEEKS WE HAVE FOUND OURSELVES WITH DIFFERING OR OPPOSING VIEWS ON IMPORTANT ISSUES BEARING ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. WE BELIEVE THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF RESTRAINT, AND RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S INTERESTS, AND THE UNDERSTANDINGS

CONCERNING THE AVOIDANCE OF CRISIS SITUATIONS AND THE ACQUISITION OF UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE, REMAIN AT THE CORE OF THE SEARCH FOR A STABLE WORLD ORDER. THESE PRINCIPLES ARE PART OF OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY. THEY MUST BE APPLIED TO SPECIFIC SITUATIONS, WHEREVER THEY ARISE, FOR THEY MUST BE THE NORM OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT IF PEACE IS TO BE SECURE AND LASTING. WE KNOW FROM HISTORY THAT GREAT POWERS WILL NOT LONG ACCEPT A DIMINUTION OF THEIR SECURITY OR INROADS INTO THEIR INTERESTS AND THAT SOONER OR LATER THEY WILL SEEK WMD FIND -- COMPENSATION IN SOME OTHER PLACE OR MANNER. BUT IT IS PRECISELY THIS CHAIN OF ACTION AND REACTION THAT HAS LED TO CATASTROPHE IN THE PAST AND WHICH MUST BE BROKEN IF THE DISASTERS OF HISTORY ARE NOT TO BE REPEATED. WE HAVE SAID TO EACH OTHER AND THE WORLD THAT WE UNDERSTAND THESE STARK REALITIES. SO, WE MUST ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEM.

IF WE DO SO, THE VISTAS BEFORE US AND MANKIND ARE FILLED WITH THE MOST PROMISING PROSPECTS. THE CHOICE, MR. MINISTER, IS OURS. WE HAVE THE CAPACITY TO TRANSLATE OUR WORDS AND OUR EXPRESSED SENTIMENTS INTO DEEDS AND LIVING, LONG-TERM POLICIES. THAT IS THE HISTORIC CHALLENGE BEFORE US AND THAT IS HOW WE SEE THESE MEETINGS THIS WEEK.

SO IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT -- OF ACCOMPLISHMENT BUT OF GREATER TASKS YET TO BE ACCOMPLISHED, OF DETERMINATION TO FULFILL THE OBLIGATIONS PLACED BEFORE US BY HISTORY TO CONTRIBUTE TO A JUST AND SECURE PEACE -- THAT I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN RAISING YOUR GLASSES. TO YOUR HEALTH, MR. MINISTER AND THAT OF YOUR COLLEAGUES; THE WISDOM AND STATESMANSHIP THAT WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES AND FUTURE GENERATIONS TO DISPLAY. END TEXT.  
KISSINGER

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**To:** STATE  
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